1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's
487 trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang.
174 Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.

have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war.

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement.

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodities of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

438 camel transport, the camels feeding on desert pasture as they go. Grain, cloth, and tobacco are the staples for sale from the oases to nomads. The return trade consists of sheep, goats, and cattle for slaughtering, cattle and horses as work animals, better quality horses for riding, and wool and hides as raw materials for artisan handicrafts.

One of the striking characteristics of the external trade of Sinkiang is that trade with China is essentially, in both its economic and its political aspects, trade with a foreign country. In spite of Chinese sovereignty, and the fact that Sinkiang has had a "standardized" provincial administration since 1884, the Chinese administrators of the Provincial Government have always had a strong tendency to make themselves into independent satraps. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang drew an Imperial subsidy from Peking, and this political income was more important than the turnover of trade. Since 1911, under the Republic, the province has most of the time been "on its own," and its governors have manipulated all trade, including trade with China, neither for the purpose of building up the provincial economy nor in order to create an economic nexus between Sinkiang and the rest of China, but primarily to accumulate personal wealth in negotiable forms which could be deposited in safe haven somewhere outside of Chinese territory.

439 489 133 Geography also hampers trade between Sinkiang and the rest of China. The greatest expanses of desert in and adjacent to Sinkiang lie on the side toward China. The distance by camel caravan from Kuchengtze through Inner Mongolia to railhead in Suiyuan Province is at least 1200 miles. The distance is even greater by cart or caravan from Komul across the desert to the Kansu Corridor, then by cart through Kansu to railhead in Shensi Province; and cart transport is more expensive than camel transport. It is not surprising that, even in the early 1930's before the years of wartime disruption, only 12.5 per cent of Sinkiang's external trade was with China.

439 489 Historically, after the age of the Silk Routes and of medieval trade, tea became important in trade between China and Kashgar

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

178 631 566 As both societies break up, they first dislodge the top structure of the Chinese administrative bureaucracy. This bureaucracy represents all that is left of the centralizing overlord power of China in Inner Asia. It may soon be succeeded by another bureaucracy, as the Communists take over power in China; but for the moment it is breaking up.

Though for nearly forty years it has been ruling in the name of a Chinese Republic, this bureaucracy is essentially the same, both in its functions and in its lack of function, as that which the Manchus set up in the eighteenth century. Economically, it is a surtax on the total revenue of Sinkiang. Politically and administratively it has functioned to keep Sinkiang the same color on the map and to maintain, internationally, the convention that in Inner Asia the domains of the Chinese touch the domains of the Russians. Yet it has never integrated Sinkiang with China, making the life and wealth of Sinkiang a part of the life and wealth of China. The individual Chinese bureaucrat has returned from Sinkiang wealthy; but the Province of Sinkiang has contributed little to the State of China.

Below their own level, the Chinese cut into but at the same time conserved the feudal powers of the local ruling classes. The village elder, the landholding oasis magnate, the Mongol prince, the Kazakh chief — whatever they might be called — were forced to yield a double tribute: one to maintain the Chinese bureaucracy as such, and one to enrich the individual Chinese bureaucrat; but in order to enable them to yield this tribute, they had to be enabled to collect it, and for this purpose their traditional powers were maintained. In this way the surtax necessary to support the Chinese bureaucracy was in fact collected from the oasis farmer and the nomad herdsman.

178 566 438 Trade, in spite of the steady penetration of commercialization in the form of a money economy, preserved the essential feudal characteristic of privilege: both the Chinese bureaucrat and under him the "native headmen" prevented the operation of a free market by selecting individual merchants to whom they extended their protection, enabling them to evade taxes and to become

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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monopolists, sometimes locally and sometimes on a provincial scale. In this way the provincial revenue from trade was cut down, but individually the protected merchant got rich, and enriched the individual bureaucrat or the clique of associated bureaucrats to whom he paid a tribute for his protection.

At the bottom level the individual cultivator and herdsman collected tribute from none, and paid out — in rents and taxes, in forced labor for special projects and in "customary services" to his immediate rulers — the tribute which those above him divided according to their position in the stratification of privilege. Though no legislation declared them to be serfs, both cultivator and herdsman were in fact survivors of the feudal system of enserfment, having duties but no rights, and being prevented from selling their services in a free market by administrative enforcement of the rights of all those above them to collect tribute in kind, forced labor for the community or the province, and "customary services" to individuals. Even the nominal significance of private property in land or cattle, among the poor, was blurred by debt obligations which prevented them from acting as free agents.

When a society breaks up, it never breaks up at random. Every society has its own kind of cohesion, and usually its cohesiveness is unequally distributed over different parts of the society. Between the units of cohesion are lines of stress; and cleavages, when they take place, usually follow these lines of stress. In considering the influences coming from Russia now at work upon the societies of Sinkiang, and the influences that may be expected to develop rapidly from a China in which Communists are consolidating their power, we must take into account both the influences themselves and the balance between cohesion and cleavage already existing within the societies on which they work.

000 A Sinkiang pilgrim, so the story goes, set out from Ha-mi one day early in this century to see the wondrous iron bridge that an American company had built over the Yellow River near Lan-chou, Kansu. Midway on his journey out of the province and down the panhandle corridor of Western Kansu this Sinkiang man, Ma by name, came upon a Lan-chou countryman also named Ma. From early childhood this second Ma had heard such unbelievable stories about the Ha-mi melons grown in Sinkiang that he was at last setting out to see them for himself. Sipping tea at a roadside inn, the two passed the time of day and soon waxed friendly.

"So far as our Iron Bridge is concerned," stated the Ma of Lan-chou, "it is the highest yet. At this date last year a man fell over the side and, when I left, his body had not yet reached the water."

"H-m-m," murmured the Ma of Ha-mi. "Yes, that's high. But as far as our melons are concerned, you are wasting your time traveling all the way to Ha-mi to see them. They grow to such a size, you know, that by this time next year they will be with you in Lan-chou."

438 Sinkiang *(Hsin-chiang)* has often been called the "New Dominion," and to Chinese, exaggerations notwithstanding, this "new" frontier land has for centuries been full of the wonderful, the picturesque, the bizarre, the new. In the olden days one who brought Ha-mi melons to the capital of the Middle Kingdom would merit special favor, and even today the clippers that soar across Northwest China from Sinkiang to Szechwan inevitably carry a few, now and then, as rare delicacies for the people of Chungking. A rice kernel a half inch long is said to have been developed in the Sinkiang oasis of Aqsu during Manchu Dynasty times, the grapes of Turfan have long been considered unequaled in sweetness and perfection, and today it is the fabulous wealth of Sinkiang's undeveloped natural resources that is inspiring wondrous tales.

35 Like a legend, the news of riches in Sinkiang has run through China in the past decade—and not without reason. For the North Road and South Road are both plentifully supplied with mineral goods. Certain strategic materials are not present, it is true, but in the North Sinkiang triangle bounded by the three Regions of I-li, T'a Ch'eng, and Tihwa

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.
The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:
4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.
Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

horns.[1] The seven families at Kaying Bashi keep about 25 yaks, 10 ponies, 30 head of ordinary cattle and half a dozen camels, besides a few animals owned by the inhabitants of the side-glens of Sarigh Yon and Ghorumda. The total number of sheep and goats in the valley, I was told, is between 3,000 and 4,000.

There are no houses (*tām*) in the Kaying Jilgha, only a few shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks (*kotan*). The tents (*aq-oi*) used by the Kirghiz, though smaller and poorer, are similar to those described by Miss Sykes in the Russian Pamirs.[2] The average size and condition of the tents varies greatly in different regions; we found much larger and more elaborate ones in the neighbourhood of Little L. Qarakul in the Chinese Pamirs; those we saw in the Tien Shan north-east of Kashgar, again, were smaller and less ornate but more solid, with thicker layers of felts and not nearly so draughty.

A light tent like the *aq-oi* with a roof shaped like a flattened dome and covered with felts which are far from waterproof, even when sound, is quite unsuited to the wet and stormy climate of the Alps of Qungur. That the inhabitants should have kept to it, refusing to build houses for themselves like the Kirghiz of the Qizil Tagh, is a remarkable instance of tenacious adhesion to ancestral habits. They have one great advantage, however, over the inhabitants of the comparatively dry Pamirs; instead of the small quantities of dried plants and dung which are the only fuel to be had in the latter region, they have unlimited firewood of the best quality, fir, juniper, etc., all round them. In cold or wet weather you will always find a roaring fire in an *aq-oi*, and right welcome it is. The problem of keeping the circular aperture in the roof, which does

[1] A Kashgar dealer will pay as much as 2½ or 3 taels (6*s.* 8*d.*–8*s.*) for a first-class red fox skin; ibex and stag horns are used by the Chinese in the concoction of certain medicines and dopes.

[2] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 115–16. The figures given by Miss Sykes for the cost of an *aq-oi* are very much higher than in the Qaratash valley. I was told that the forty curved roof-poles and sections of trellis which compose the framework of an *aq-oi* cost 2 tengas (4*d.*) each, and the felts, when new, from 8 to 15 taels between them (21*s.* 4*d.*–£2). The camel-hair ropes and long strips of woollen webbing (*taghar*) with which the framework is bound together under the felts are all home-made, but could be bought for three or four taels; total say £2–£3. Probably Miss Sykes' figures include the carpets, screens, bolsters, etc., with which an *aq-oi* is furnished; these, if the owner is rich, may be worth large sums.

S 563 178 [31] S [464] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk- local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings N [342] are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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CHAPTER XLI

THE CAPITAL OF SINKIANG

175 URUMCHI first comes into historical prominence under the name of 'Bishbalik,' the capital of the kingdom established by the Uigurs in southern Dzungaria. Driven out from their first home in the northern part of this province, they wandered south until they found a resting place on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, and also in the watered land as far as Hami, which territory they transformed so as to make of it the fertile district which it is to-day. The middle of the eighteenth century marks the period, when under the great Emperor Chien Lung, Chinese ascendency finally asserted itself in Dzungaria.

487 Urumchi is situated at the junction of four great 175 trade routes. One crossing Mongolia, another leading through Hami to Kansu, a third connecting it with 361 Ili and Russia, and a fourth with Kashgar. It thus occupied a position obviously suited to make it the capital of the New Dominion, called by the Chinese 'Sinkiang.' The city has been the battle-ground of many contending forces, having been taken and retaken by Mongols, Chinese and Mohammedans, while during the great Mohammedan rebellion in 1865 it is estimated that 130,000 Chinese were murdered in the vicinity. The word 'Urumchi' is of Mongolian origin; to the Chinese the town is known as 'Tihwa,' but colloquially it is referred to as 'Hungmiaotz'—'The Red Temple.'

[312] It is well supplied with water, and with coal of various [438] qualities, and is in easy communication with Manas, from which it draws grain, especially rice; with 439 Turfan which helps to supply it with fruit, and with